2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ8

allotted places of honor according to the seniority of the guest's uru.[22] According to Grodekov also a guest was treated well or ill according to his knowledge of the tribal gradations.[23] This perhaps may be related to the fact which he mentions elsewhere[24] that it was only the upper classes who knew the ramifications of the numerous groups while the knowledge of the common people was restricted to the genealogies of their immediate ancestors. From this it would follow that a guest well versed in genealogy was of the upper class and entitled to respect.

Grodekov also states[25] that there was an order of precedence running through all three ordas with the youngest uru of the Great Orda having seniority over the senior uru of the Middle Orda and so down to the last group of the Little Orda. This was vigorously denied by my informants, who said that the Great Orda possibly may have thought so but certainly no one else did. Kuftin[26] also speaks of the principle of seniority running through the ordas but his wording reads almost like a paraphrase of Grodekov from whom he may have taken the statement. Tlenshiev said there may have been such a system of precedence but it would be based not on seniority but on strength and importance at any given time because no one knew which of the ordas was supposed to be the oldest.

One may summarize the basis of Kazak social structure by saying that it consisted of a large number of separate groups each claiming descent from it's founder and bearing his name. These groups considered themselves as related to, but independent of, other groups from which their ancestor had come.

The nature of these groups can best be clarified by considering their functional aspects which I shall first do in relation to economic life.

[22] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 7–8.
[23] *Idem*, 27.
[24] *Idem*, 12.
[25] *Idem*, 7–8.
[26] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 9.

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233 [465] The wealthy hire shepherds from among the middle class and poor. They pasture collectively; if one hires out as shepherd the others help him . . . . A shepherd receives from his master clothing, food, and three or four sheep in payment. A good horse shepherd will receive in addition to food and clothes, a horse. 1/A

According to Tlenshiev a young shepherd might get seven woolen cloaks or seven lambs for a year's work while a skilled and experienced worker might receive anywhere from one to ten horses. The regular period of employment was for one year. At the end of that time the herdsman might return to his own uru, go to work for another employer, or continue in his job for another year.

The hired herdsmen, Tlenshiev said, were called malcь from mal (cattle), though in addition to tending the herds they performed any other necessary heavy work about their employer's kibitka. There were several varieties of malcь according to the kind of animal they tended. Sheep herders (qojcь) followed their flocks on foot while cow herds (sьjьrcь) either rode a cow or went afoot. The horse herders (çьlqьcь) were from necessity obliged to [342] have a mount, but, said Tlenshiev, usually had a broken-down nag assigned to them. The herdsmen and their families did not live in a true kibitka (kyiz yj) but in a rough shelter, called qos or kyrke, formed by an old felt or reed mat supported by three poles.[20] Tlenshiev emphasized the fact that the malcь together with their wives and children never lived in real kibitkas, except insofar as the kyrke might itself be considered a small kibitka. This would indicate that only a part, perhaps not more than half, of the Kazak customarily dwelt in the kibitka as it is usually described.

565 511 These details were of course provided by Tlenshiev in an enthusiastic effort to indicate to me the severe exploitation to which the lower class of Kazak were subjected by their masters and must be discounted accordingly. They gain however a degree of confirmation from other sources. Rudenko[21] describes the poorer people as living in the kyrke and Zaleskie,[22] after describing a form of dwelling of the poor very similar to a kyrke, adds: "Les plus pauvre passent, en été, la nuit dans la steppe, à la belle étoile, et l'hiver, cherchent un abri dans les kibitka des riches; ils sont . . . considérés sinon avec mépris, au moins avec dédain." Again,[23] in confirmation of the fact that the poor followed the animals on foot, the same author writes, "Les pauvres . . . vont à pied en chassant les troupeaux devant eux . . . ."

233 565 Among wealthy Kazak the animals were not driven home at night,[24] as was customary among the owners of smaller herds,[25] but were left in the charge of herdsmen on the pastures where there was more grass.[26] A small number of cattle necessary for milking were kept near the kibitkas. Only the wealthy had camels.[27]

[20] The distinction between the qos and kyrke was that the latter had a small smoke vent.
[21] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 32.
[22] Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 9.
[23] *Idem*, 10.
[24] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 24.
[25] Atkinson, *Oriental and Western Siberia*, 228.
[26] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 110.
[27] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 14.

1/A [Rudenko in Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov, 20. -- Analyst]

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CLASS STRATIFICATION

HEREDITARY CLASS DISTINCTION

Class stratification among the Kazak may be considered as determined first by blood related groupings in the sense of an hereditary caste, and second by economic position in the community. 565

Information on class divisions of the first type is highly unsatisfactory. There was an hereditary aristocracy among the Kazak known as "White Bones" (aq syjek) in contrast to the common people who were called "Black Bones" (kara syjek).[1] The precise genealogical and functional distinction between these groups and its rigidity is difficult to determine. The chief problem involved is whether the White Bone aristocracy formed an uru in itself or whether it consisted of the leading families of each localized uru group.

Grodekov[2] says only, "The White Bone was composed of khans and their offspring," and Radlov[3] adds nothing to this. Levshin, however, is more illuminating:[4] " . . . ces sous-divisions [the uru] ne regardent que le bas peuple; la haute classe a une autre généalogie . . . Le Kost [Russian for "bone"] blanc ne se compose que des khans et de leurs descendants . . . On appelle kost noir non-seulement le bas people, mais aussi les anciens et les autres chefs qui n'ont pas de dignité héréditaire." Togzhanov[5] makes a clear distinction between the relatives of khans, who were White Bones and formed the higher aristocracy, and the chiefs of local groups who were Black Bones.

This view is, I think, correct although it does not agree with that of my informants, who said that all local chiefs and persons of influence and affluence were White Bones. The details which I was able to get were very confused and contradictory and should be heavily discounted. Kargabaiev, who came from a poor family of Black Bones, knew very little about the genealogies and uru affiliations of the upper class, and Tlenshiev, also from the former lower order, was in addition anxious to co-ordinate all his information with the concept of sharp class divisions showing complete correlation between wealth and birth. He said for instance that all rich people were White Bones and all White Bones rich. The latter part of the statement was probably in general true but the former need not necessarily have been so if White Bones were only those who could claim descent in a particular line.

[1] See Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 4–5; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 304–05; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 515; Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 621–22; Jochelson, *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 84.

[2] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 4.

[3] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 515.

[4] *Description des hordes*, 304.

[5] Togzhanov, *O Kazakskom Feodalizme*, 121.

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565 His view may, however, have been correct insofar as the term White Bone perhaps tended to lose a strict meaning and came to be applied rather loosely to distinguished individuals in general. There is some evidence for this in the inclusion of Mohammedan holy men among those considered White Bones. Levshin writes:[6] "Les zélés Mahométans rangent aussi dans cette classe [White Bone] les khodjas [qoça in Kazak] ou descendants des saints de la légende mahométane."

There appear to have been at least two varieties of those who were considered White Bones by virtue of their place in the Mohammedan hierarchy. In addition to the qoça Grodekov[7] mentions the seyid as "descendants of the son of Hussein[8] . . . and consequently the greatest of the qoças." He adds that there were few of them among the Kazak.[9] My informants were familiar with these terms but unable to distinguish between them; Kargabaiev said there was no difference between them; they were all priests. Tlenshiev thought that a qoça might have been also a medical practitioner and surgeon. Begaliev and Gavrilov[10] define qoça not very helpfully as a "representative of the privileged class," with no ecclesiastical connotations. Grodekov[11] mentions that the qoça lived in tents near permanent settlements, took up agriculture and quickly became sedentary.

565 582 The White Bones proper, the descendants of the khans of the Kazak ordas as well as those claiming descent from Chingis and the Abbasid caliphs[12] were called tare.[13] The extent to which they can be considered as a rigidly defined caste is uncertain. My informants at first denied that intermarriage between White and Black Bones ever took place but later we were able to find instances of its having occurred. Tlenshiev was unable to say whether the children of such marriages would be considered as belonging to the White or Black Bones and finally decided they would occupy a midway position. Grodekov indicates that there was no obstacle to marriages between the two classes[14] and mentions that the term sultan was applied to a person whose father and mother were both of the White Bone, which suggests that Tlenshiev's estimate of the position of the offspring of mixed marriages may be correct. Levshin[15] also contrasts a "pur kost blanc" with a "kost blanc mêlé" whose mother came from the common people. Jochelson, however,[16] without giving his source, says that marriage between White and Black Bones was regarded as a disgrace for the former.

[6] *Déscription des hordes*, 304.

[7] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 4.

[8] Hussein: the grandson of Mohammed by his daughter Fatima and Ali, his son-in-law and cousin.

[9] See also Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 621–22.

[10] *Kazaksko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 185.

[11] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 4.

[12] Abbasid: the Mohammedan dynasty claiming descent from Abbas, an uncle of the Prophet, which reigned in Bagdad from 750 to 1258, when they were overthrown by the Mongols.

[13] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47; also Begaliev and Gavrilov, *Kazakslo-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 241.

[14] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47.

[15] *Déscription des hordes*, 305.

[16] *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 84.

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The precise status and privileges of a White Bone as such apart from other considerations cannot be sharply defined. "One accords them respect and precedence and at feasts assigns them the most honored place and the choicest morsels."[17] Grodekov[18] says that in his time [1885] there was no distinction in law between White and Black Bones, and adds that "In the Aulie-ata district they deny any privileges to White Bones . . . and now the people say: 'The slaves are now free. Freedom is given no less to us; to rude treatment we answer rudely'." This clearly implies that formerly the situation was different. Jochelson claims,[19] again without mentioning his authority, that by Kazak law the White Bones had privileges and advantages in land owning. Such in any case would seem to have been true in practice so far as the White Bones comprised a ruling and owning class.

Summing up the rather unsatisfactory evidence, it may be said that the term White Bone can hardly be taken to mean a clearly defined caste, but rather to indicate generally those who enjoyed the highest prestige in Kazak society. It is not unlikely that the rigidity of distinctions between Black and White Bones had been weakened first by the inclusion of persons distinguished for religious reasons and later by the collapse of the power of the khans and their families after the Russian conquest.

CLASS DISTINCTIONS BASED ON WEALTH

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Class distinctions as conditioned by economic relationships have been mentioned in a previous section but may be enlarged upon here. The poor or middle class Kazak was always in a precarious situation because the loss of his few cattle placed him in complete subjection to the wealthy owners of large herds. Radlov observed[20] that a Kazak who had lost his animals through drought or a severe winter had no recourse but to hire himself out as a worker. Ujfalvy[21] mentions the numerous impoverished people who were obliged to enter the service of the rich and adds: "Leur position équivaut à un véritable servage. Ils servent sans recevoir de salaire et pour la nourriture seulement." Quite another picture is drawn by Grodekov, who says that agricultural workers received as wages from a fourth to a half of the harvest and ate at the table of their master, who acted as a father toward them, calling them "my sons." In return the worker was expected to advance the interests of his patron in every possible way.[22]

As a contrast to this, Kargabaiev, who remembered the old days himself, said that the poor herdsman was not entitled to shelter in the master's kibitka. If he slept there at all he must stretch himself across the doorway and above all not approach the left side of the

[17] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47.

[18] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 5.

[19] *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 84.

[20] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 416.

[21] *Expédition scientifique*, 2: 112.

[22] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 217. Kos'min, in discussing Turco-Mongol feudalism in general writes "The relations of lord and vassal in Central Asia . . . approached the relationship of father and son . . . or of elder brother and younger brother. . . ." (*K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 66.)

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565 kibitka which was the place of honor. If the master required his services and wanted to wake him he would always use his foot and never touch him with his hands.

Here of course we are dealing with the same problem of the nature of the patriarchal relationship which has been previously discussed. It may be remembered that the clients of a rich man, his own more or less distant relatives, working for him for their sustenance only, were yet free to hire themselves to another master for wages. Why they did not do so, or rather perhaps why some of them did so, is a vital point on which it is difficult to get precise information now. Tlenshiev could only say that they were a very "dark" people. The answer probably lies in the decline of uru solidarity. Grodekov indicates[23] that the lot of those who stayed with their own group was probably more secure than of those who went among strangers:

> In strong tribes the poor people migrate with the rich, remaining always with their group for the sake of the protection afforded by the rich, paying for it with labor. Among disintegrating tribes, the condition of the poor . . . grows worse from year to year when they have no strong person to whom they may attach themselves.

And Rudenko says:[24]

> Reciprocity between white and black bones is now evidently not what it was formerly; reciprocal relations have degenerated between wealthy Kazak and their workers.

SLAVERY

567 Slavery existed among the Kazak until abolished at Russian instigation in 1859, but was not apparently a large nor important factor in the culture. At this time it is difficult to obtain accurate information on the subject and references to it in the literature are very scanty.[25] A slave (qul) was usually a war captive but might also have been born into slavery of slave parents, or in some cases have been sold into slavery by his own parents as a result of extreme poverty. War captives were taken not only from foreign, non-Kazak tribes, but also from other Kazak groups, and might be employed as laborers and domestic servants or held for ransom.

My informants said that a man ransomed back into his own group would not be restored to freedom but would continue as a slave among his own people in the service of the man or men who had paid the ransom. Kargabaiev told a story of a hundred men of the Kipchak uru of the Little Orda who had been captured and held as slaves by the Dulat uru of the Middle Orda; they were later ransomed, or rather bought back, by a rich man of their own Kipchak uru and became his slaves. There is perhaps some confusion here. Kargabaiev was uncertain whether they had actually become real slaves in the sense that their

[23] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 16.

[24] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 20.

[25] See Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kázakstana*, 97; Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 60; Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 609–10, 623; Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 377; Jochelson, *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 130.

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children would also be slaves or whether they were only obligated to work out the price of their ransom in service to their benefactor. It is possible that the patron-client relationship has become confused with that of master and slave. It became clear that if a captive were ransomed back by a group of close relatives he would not be their slave and certainly the son of a rich man would not be one. But there seems to have been no strong obligation on the part of uru relatives to obtain the freedom of a captive. They might ignore his fate, especially if he came of a poor and unimportant family.

Slaves appear to have been the individual property of those who had captured or purchased them and not of any group as a whole. It was not possible to find instances of an entire uru held in bondage by another as occurred among the Mongols[26] although such inter-group relations may have existed in former times. Slaves were employed largely as domestic servants rather than as herdsmen, and female slaves were mentioned as forming part of the marriage dowries of the daughters of rich men.

In times of severe economic distress poor parents might sell their children into slavery, especially boys who brought a good price in the cities to the south. Parents refrained from selling their daughters if possible in the hope that a small bride price might be obtained for them. Asfendiarov[27] says that during the famine of 1733 the Kazak sold their children in large numbers in Khiva, which was the principal slave market for all Central Asia.

Slaves among the Kazak seem to have been well treated. Pallas, who traveled in the region while slavery was actively functioning, says:[28] " . . . ils ne sont ni cruels, ni durs envers lui." Asfendiarov remarks[29] that slaves in general received the same treatment as the lower class of Kazak, were permitted to marry into Kazak families and became rapidly assimilated.

It is uncertain to what extent this assimilation may have been a continuous process through Kazak history. There was probably a slow absorption of slaves into Kazak groups which became much accelerated after the granting to them of technical freedom.[30] Rudenko says[31] that formerly there were among the Altaian Kazak many Kalmyk, Uriankhai, Teleut and Torgut slaves who at the present time are so mixed with the Kazak that it is impossible to distinguish them.

Certainly the freeing of the slaves increased the numbers of the poorest class who, having no cattle and little property of their own, were entirely dependent upon the wealthy herd owners.

THE TELENGUT

Mention is sometimes made in the literature of a group known as Telengut who were the immediate retainers, bodyguards and professional soldiers of the khans. The informa-

[26] See below, pages 83–84.
[27] Personal communication.
[28] *Voyages*, 1: 623.
[29] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 97.
[30] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[31] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 205.

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tion concerning them is extremely sparse and confusing but their status may be perhaps clarified later in a consideration of comparable groups found in Mongol society.

Levshin speaks[32] of " . . . une classe particulière, les Telengoutes, ou serviteurs des khans . . . " whom he distinguishes from the slaves. Radlov, however, says[33] that they were the retainers and slaves of the khans. The information collected by Kharuzin[34] is contradictory. Asfendiarov[35] writes that each Kazak khan and important chief had a number of people dependent on him, whose chief function was military service. They occupied a privileged position and were the closest councillors of the khan. Many Telenguts belonged to other tribes but were usually assimilated by the Kazak.

I could not obtain any useful detailed information on the Telengut except general agreement that they were not by origin Kazak.

The fact that Levshin distinguishes them from the slaves and that Asfendiarov describes them as occupying a privileged position as close councillors of the khans throws doubt on Radlov's classing them as slaves, especially as the latter admits that his information is deficient.

On the basis of Mongol material[36] it seems possible that the Telengut may have occupied a position comparable to that of the Mongol nököd. These were free warriors, usually of good family, who voluntarily entered the service of a khan, generally not of their own group, as companion, squire and bodyguard. The position of the khans and their court in Kazak culture will be discussed in the course of the next section.

[32] *Description des hordes*, 305.
[33] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 526.
[34] *Kirgizy Bukeevskoĭ Ordy*, 30–33.
[35] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 98.
[36] See pages 91–92, and Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 87–96.

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631 The relations between such independent local groups[1] were not markedly affected either
642 by genealogical groupings or by political affiliations. Thus war might be carried on between
721 two uru closely connected by descent from a common parent group, or between parent group and offshoot, or between two unrelated groups both owing allegiance to the same khan.

721 Such local wars, "barantas" (barɨmta), were usually considered as reprisals for damage
628 done by one group to another. They might continue for generations and take on the nature of hereditary feuds.[28] It is difficult at this time to obtain precise data on their cause and origin. According to my informants they usually resulted from thefts of cattle, raids on hay fields, and personal injury or murder committed by members of one group against those
[627] of another. Such episodes in inter-group relations would normally first be referred to a meeting of the bij and aqsaqal of both groups. The meeting was called bitim, literally "peace" or "truce." Here an effort was made to fix responsibility and the amount of damages to be paid in compensation for the injury done. If the immediate parties concerned were not particularly important individuals a decision agreeable to the leaders of both groups would probably be reached amicably and the offending party ordered to pay the proper fine. If, however, the principals to the dispute were both influential men in their respective groups the meeting would probably end in a disagreement because a judge would rarely agree to a decision counter to the interests of a powerful member of his own group, who would probably be his close relative. In case of such a deadlock the man who considered himself the injured party might gather his own followers, and if sufficiently influential his whole uru, and proceed to make a small scale war upon his adversary. Such wars might indeed be major military operations if the importance of the individuals concerned were sufficiently great.

It therefore becomes difficult to distinguish between barantas as cases of personal revenge and as wars involving whole uru which were obliged to support the interests of their leaders. Levshin, however,[29] describes an instance of a baranta of a private nature entered upon by an individual to collect damages to which he was entitled by judgment of the court but which had not been paid. In this case, according to Levshin, the injured party was authorized by the chief of his aul to exercise reprisals, but on his return was obliged to swear that the amount of damage which he had done or booty which he had collected did not exceed the amount of the original claim. Levshin[30] states elsewhere that whereas formerly a baranta was only entered upon after deliberation by the chiefs in cases of culpable refusal to pay judgments, in his time any malcontent who could gather around him a band of followers might attack the herds and dwellings of his enemy.

628 The essential problem connected with the subject of baranta is the extent of solidarity
565 of the uru and its collective responsibility for injuries done to its blood members. Here it is

[28] See Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 302, 349–51, 400, note 1; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 434.
[29] *Description des hordes*, 400.
[30] *Idem*, 349.

[1] [see cat. 116, p65 -- Analyst]

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again necessary to distinguish between theory and practice. In theory the uru was supposed to avenge any injury done to one of its members for which compensation was not forthcoming, and on the other hand was collectively responsible for the payment of damages for any injury which one of its members might commit against a member of another group. In practice, however, according to my information, class affiliations were in general of greater importance than blood relationship. Whereas, as mentioned above, disputes between powerful individuals of different groups would commonly lead to war involving all their kinsmen and followers,[1] the humbler members of the uru could not count with any certainty upon receiving support from their wealthy patrons. If, of course, the leaders of the uru were looking for a pretext to begin hostilities they might seize eagerly upon an injury done to any of their followers which would serve to justify their action. On the other hand if it suited their policy to remain on good terms with the opposing group the victim would obtain scant sympathy. He might perhaps resort to direct action to obtain redress but in the event of coming to grief would be disavowed by his own uru. In opposite circumstances an influential individual responsible for an injury might requisition the amount of the damages from his henchmen, if he decided to pay them at all, while the poor man could only hope that his patron would feel generously inclined. The claims of kinship were weighted in favor of the upper class and the right of resorting to arms tended to become their prerogative.

LAW

In the previous section[2] I have discussed baranta as the ultimate means of settling disputes by recourse to arms. Normally, however, it would be considered only as a last resort. For the settlement of nearly all possible grievances of one individual against another the Kazak had elaborate provision in their system of customary law.[21]

Under this legal code all actions were considered as claims for damages by one party from another. No action could be taken against an individual in the interests of society as a whole but only on the charge of specific injury to person or property brought by the victim.[22]

Such charges did not distinguish between civil and criminal offenses. All injuries from murder to the misuse of borrowed property might be compensated for according to an elaborate tariff of fines, damages and reparations. It was the office of the bij, or judge, to fix the responsibility for damage done and to determine the amount of compensation to be paid.

This was accomplished through a process of trial involving the examination of witnesses for both sides under oath. It is difficult at the present time to estimate accurately the nature of trial procedure in the days prior to the Russian occupation. Most accounts of

[21] Adat or zaŋ; the former is the borrowed Arabic term, the latter Turkic. See Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 20.

[22] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 321.

1 [See cat. 116, p. 66 -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116, pp. 66-67 -- Analyst]

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various local groups. Transients of course were numerous. Levshin[7] mentions that in some places a fiancé who had paid the first part of the kalym might pitch his kibitka in the camp of his betrothed and live there until the transaction had been completed and he was able to take her home. Since the payments might sometimes be extended over a period of several years the prospective bridegroom perhaps became a fixture about the camp.

In addition there were large numbers of itinerant visitors, travelers, merchants, and wandering mullahs. Beggars formed a large group to whom it was considered meritorious to make gifts.[8]

All these alien elements went far to increase the complexity of social groupings and to obscure the sharp demarcation between uru groups.

HOSPITALITY

The custom of hospitality (qonaqaçь) to strangers may be noted in its connection with inter-group relations.

In principle any passing traveler was entitled to stop at any man's kibitka and remain indefinitely. One of my informants said: "He doesn't have to pay and can stay as long as he likes; the owner of the house will never tell him to go." The host was responsible for the welfare of his guest and might be obliged to pay damages equivalent to those for murder for any stranger who succumbed to starvation or exhaustion even in the vicinity of the camp.[9]

Apparently such open hospitality was liable to prove a burden because Grodekov remarks[10] that the Kazak always avoided camping near roads or frequented routes in order to obviate a deluge of ravenous guests and "if it is necessary to camp near a road they conceal themselves behind a hill."

In addition to thus escaping the responsibilities of hospitality, the custom was in practice considerably limited by two factors.

Although in theory anyone, even an enemy, was entitled to hospitality, my informants said that such an instance would never arise. One usually stopped only at places where one had some expectation of finding a welcome.

A more important limitation was that in practice hospitality was restricted to members of one's own class. The rich entertained the rich and the poor sought shelter with the poor. The poor man would probably not be turned away from the rich man's door but where the duties of hospitality were ceremonially observed for an important guest by cutting the throat of a sheep, which was afterwards eaten, a humble visitor would receive only milk or tea. The gauging of hospitality by the importance of the guest is mentioned

[7] *Description des hordes*, 360.

[8] See also Levshin, *op. cit.*, 344; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 222–23.

[9] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 217–18.

[10] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 110.

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also by Grodekov[11] and Dingelstedt,[12] who say that a visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his "tribe" and the number of his ancestors. Zaleskie[13] also suggests that it was chiefly the rich who kept open house.

It may be noted here that qonaqaçь (hospitality) was also the term applied to social gatherings to celebrate circumcisions, weddings and funerals.

FRATERNIZATION

A form of fraternization or sworn brotherhood might exist between two particular individuals, usually of different but not too distantly related uru groups. They swore solemnly on the Koran, or embraced one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each, taking oath that they would be friends (tamьr or dos) to one another for a specified time or for life. This relationship seems to have involved mainly an obligation of reciprocal hospitality and a certain sharing of one another's property. My informants were vague on the subject.

Grodekov[14] indicates that the relationship had a decidedly commercial quality with strong emphasis on an exact balancing of accounts. He writes:

> They swear to be tamyr or dos to one another and grant a gift. Receiving a gift obliges one to give an equal gift in return. Tamyr come by turns to one another and make a choice of cattle and goods and the chosen objects must be given without a refusal. In former times it was not customary to complain at the non-receipt of an equivalent gift in return; but now the bii computes the money value of the gifts on both sides and forces them to pay the difference. Said one bii, "Satisfy the wishes of this tamyr and afterwards you can go to visit him and he must satisfy your desire." According to Torgai [one of Grodekov's informants], in dos one may take things without asking while in tamyr it is customary to ask. Another bii said that in dos they swear before god not to bring lawsuits about the value of the presents.

The children of individuals who were tamьr and dos to one another might continue the relationship. It was also possible for women to be tamьr to one another and the relationship might exist between those of opposite sex.[15]

A somewhat similar form of fraternization, though apparently without the overt mercenary aspects of the tamьr and dos relationships, existed in Mongol culture.[16]

[11] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 27.
[12] *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[13] *La Vie des steppes*, 13.
[14] *Op. cit.*, 40–41.
[15] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 40–41; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 219–20.
[16] See pages 82–83.

4:Grodekov--4 E-5 (ca. 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

773

The father of the Kirgiz sprang from a mirage (sagym). He reigned among the Kazakhs and married one of their girls, from whom he had a single daughter. The father appointed 40 female servants to her. At one time the Khan's daughter came with her 40 servants to a great river, where she noticed floating foam. As they watched the foam the girls heard words coming from it: "You are right and I am right" (antalkhak mende ak). (2) Out of curiosity the

2. The form of these words is more correct in the History of the Khanate of Kokand by V. P. Nalivkin, p. 15: ana el'khak mana el'khak (and that is the truth and this is the truth). The story is also found in Puteshestvie po Okrainam Russkoi Azii/ A Journey through the Borderlands of Russian Asia/ by M. Veniukov, St. Petersburg, 1868. p. 155.

maidens dipped their fingers in the foam and then licked them, and it soon turned out that all of them were with child. Khan Sagym expelled them to the high mountains for he did not wish to kill them. Finding food in the mountains, they gave birth to 40 sons and 40 daughters, a total offspring of 80. When they grew up, these children married among each other. The people which took form from them became called the Kyrgyz (kyrk-kyz, 40 maidens). The Kirgiz remained living in the mountains and the Kazakhs in the valley. In the course of time some of the Kirgiz became famous and left clans to follow them, others degenerated and disappeared without forming clans. The name of one clan chief was Ung /On/ (the right), the name of another Sol (the left). The first descended from the daughter of a khan, and the other from the daughter of a vizir. Kirgiz clans descended from both of them.

* * * *

565

The Kazakh nobles or white bone (ak suyek, tiuria, sultan) do not reckon themselves as belonging to one horde or to one clan. They do not divide into lineage (undivided, "tagk"). They are descendants of khans ruling in the steppes, for example, Ablai-Khan. According to Sultan Daulet Bushaev of the Perovsk uyezd, the Tiuri are descendants of the Caliph Abbas (ibni Appas), and at the same time also descendants of Chingiz Khan. /Inserted Plate 3/1 Caption: The white bone.

3/1 [Not reproduced — Analyst]

565

Sadyk, son of Kenisary Kasimov. /

/5/ One of the local singers, by the name of Maikut, relates that a certain princess whose father never let her go out, but kept her shut up in a dark room, became pregnant from an accidental ray of the sun which entered. Her father threw her into the water, but a hunter named Dompol saved her from it. From the ray she bore the chief of the clan of the ruling families (Chingiz Khan), and from Dompol she bore the sons Burgeltai, Budanatai, Tabanatai and Targaitai, from whom the Tiuri among the Kazakhs are descended.

565 The present Tiuri (nagz tiuria) are considered to be those whose mothers as well as fathers were of the white bone.

Hodjas and Seids also belong to the white bone. Hodjas are considered to be the descendants of the fellow champions of the prophet, and the Seiidy, who are not numerous among the Kazakhs, are considered to be descendants of the son of Hussein, the imam of Zeinulabuddin, and therefore the best of the hodjas.

The hodjas live in tents around holy places, for example, Baba-Ata, in the Turkestan uyezd, in the northern spurs of the Kara-Tau. They are engaged in agriculture, transport and learning, and bear more resemblance to Sarts. There are also hodjas from the nomadic Kazakhs, in the Kurama uyezd, around Toi-Tyube among other places. There are no hodjas among the Kirgiz of the Auliye-Ata uyezd and the Fergana region.

In contrast to the white bone, the remainder of the people are called black bone, kara suyek, and also subjects, karashi, pukara.

The law at present, and the customary law as an example of it, makes no distinction between the white bone and the remainder of the people. When the aksuiaks are courteous, they are shown special respect. But when there is friction with them they are told: "We too are given freedom; when we are treated roughly we reply roughly." (Mikebai, bii of the Perovsk uyezd). In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the privileges of the white bone are absolutely denied.

Marriages are now concluded between the white and the black bone without obstacle. As before, however, the woman of the higher /6/ estate who marries one of the black bone loses her estate advantages and undergoes a curse (Sultan Daulet Bushaev).

The Tulenkut were clients and riders /dzhigit/ from the poor, serving the Tiuri and being adopted by them. Formerly they served for the allotment of property (inchi), or for a bride price or in general

for maintenance. After receiving the bride price or inchi they continued to serve their masters, from whom they received various gains. The former Tulenkut are still servants now, but for pay. The name, in addition, is going out of use. 565

Among the Kirgiz the manap are the best people, descending from a whole line of biis. Yet they do not receive any more honor than all the good people, in general. Manap is not entirely a title of descent. If the son of a manap is worse than the father, wicked or impoverished, then he ceases to be a manap. On the other hand, an upstart from the simple people, even though he be a good person, cannot be a manap. Biis can and could be in the past not only manaps but also non-manaps, without distinction. (1) 565 554 [558]

1. Communication of bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.

The honorable Kirgiz Mulla Asan, a manap himself, communicated the following concerning the manaps:

"Manap is a title similar to the Russian Prince. Not a single manap is descended from the house of Chingiz Khan. Those who stood out from the people (yurtan ozyb), who were outstanding for their bravery and generosity and who commanded the people at times without leadership became manaps. At times of enemy invasions they assembled all the people and those who commanded them (el bashlagan) were those who themselves stood out among the other manaps (uzi ozyb chykkan). They were not elected, but if they began to have elections, they would elect them.

"There are no genealogical registers of the manaps.

"In the Auliye-Ata uyezd now the following persons with their kin are considered to be manaps: I (Mullah Asan Dzhangel-Din), /7/ Kydyrali Nurakov, Shadybek Sarymsakov, Nazar Khangel'diev, Kanai Bekmuradov, Seid Kachkin, Egemberdi Usekov and Irsali Nurav. None of these are related to each other."

There are no Tiuri or Telenkut among the Kirgiz.

The slaves (1) freed by the Russians, have been completely lost. 567

1. The slaves were called kiimdy tugan bala (son, born clothed).

Apparently most of them returned to their native lands. Part of them began to marry Kazakhs, and some became mixed with them by adoption.

• • • •

587

the distribution of the yakhsy. (1)

1. On the yakhsy, cf. below.

When the wife's father demands that his son-in-law marry the baldyz /the wife's sister/, the son-in-law can refuse, but for such a refusal it is customary to compensate the father-in-law with a horse or a khalat /coat/, excepting only the case when the refusal is based on delinquency or some sort of inadequacy of the bride.

582 [565]

It is impossible to marry the wet nurse (eneke) or her sister (emekdas), but it is possible to marry her close relatives.

The white bone marries among its own group, and they take brides from the black bone, but they do not marry their women to the black bone.

According to customary law, a teacher should not marry his student, although the Shariat does not prohibit it (Perovsk uyezd). According to Torgai, the Shariat permits the marriage of a teacher (ustad) with his student but not between a woman teacher and her student. The customary law permits both. Among the Kirgiz it is also permissable.

* * * * *

601

The kinship terms in Kazakh:
Father - ake (ata in Sart).
Mother - sheshe. She is also called apa (ana, ena in Sart).
Step-father - ugei ake.
Step-mother - ugei sheshe.
Son - ul.
Daughter - kyz.
/31/ Step-son - ugei ul, ugei bala.
Step-daughter - ugei kyz, ugei bala.
Elder brother - aga (ake in Sart).
Younger brother - ini (uke in Sart).
Elder sister - apa.
Younger sister of a man - kyryndas (singli in Sart).
Younger sister of a woman - singli.
Grandfather, father's father - baba.
Grandmother, father's mother - ulu ene, kar'ya sheshe, adzhe.
Grandfather, mother's father - nagashi, nagashi ata.
Grandmother, mother's mother - nagashi sheshe.

[303 cont.]

The Great Horde

631 The Great Horde originally was composed of the Uisiun or
619 Usiun, Tulatai, and Sargam descent lines. Later the Konrat or
611 Kunrat descent line detached itself from the Middle Horde and joined the Great Horde.

From these first descent lines the following tribes issued: Botboi, Chimir, Djanis or Yanysh, Sik-Am, Abdai-Suvank, [304] Sary-Suly, Chanych-Kily, Kanly or Kankly, Djalair, etc.

II. The Konkhrat descent line formed the following tribes: Bailar-Djandjar, Uras-Geldy, Kuldjegach, Bochman, Tok-Bulat, Yaman-Bai, Kura-Kusia, Etimlier, Kuyush-Kansyz.

Each of the tribes is divided into sections. A section is composed of parts, and the latter also have their subdivisions, and all have different names. For example, the Maskar tribe of the Baiuly (in the Little Horde) descent line has two sections, namely: Kutlu-Gadam and Massak. The Kutlu-Gadam section is made up of two parts called Kurman and Baba-Nasar. The Kurman part has three subdivisions, which are Atamkan, Umier, and Kudaigul. The Baba-Nazar part has two subdivisions: Abdu-Shokur and Djidik.

What a volume the names of all these subdivisions for the three hordes would make! Without wearying the reader with such
761 an enumeration, it will suffice to say that the increase of popula-
178 tion among the Kazaks is constantly giving rise to new subdivisions, and that the original names of the descent lines will end up by being lost. In this manner, the Baiuly and Alimuly have ceased to bear their generic name of Alchin. It also develops from this that there are Kazaks who do not know what descent line they belong to and know only the name of their tribe and their section.

It can be concluded that in a hundred years most of the names of the Kazak branches which we have cited will no longer exist except in the Russian archives and in the memory of a few old men.

565 In addition, these subdivisions concern only the common
611 people. The upper class has another genealogy. This is why
643 the Kazaks divide themselves into two estates, the White bone

[304 cont.]

565 and the Black bone. The White bone is made up only of khans and
611 their descendants, who have the title of sultans. /305] Zealous
643 Moslems also put in this class the khojas, or descendants of saints
[792] in the Moslem chronicle of saints (1). The name of Black bone

[114]

1. Timkovskii, in his Journey to Peking, gives approximately the same meaning to the word khoja. Klaproth, in his notes to the French translation of this work, opposes Timkovskii's opinion. As for me, I repeat what I have heard many times from Kazak lips.

is used not only for the common people but also for the elders and other chiefs who do not have a hereditary position.

According to this distinction, one says "here is a sultan of the pure white bone," because he is descended from a khan in both the male and female line, and "this man is of mixed white bone," because his mother is of common descent.

[554] Thus one finds among the Kazaks the hereditary distinctions to which so much value is attached in Europe. Savages know how to take pride in services rendered by others, as we do, and to claim privileges as a recompense for the merit of their ancestors.

565 567 We do not place the Telenguts, or servants of the khans (2),

[728]

2. The Telenguts are of Mongol origin but were subjugated by the Kazaks and have adopted the language of their masters. See on this subject, Klaproth's note in his Magasin Asiatique, vol. I, p. 19.

in a special class, nor the kuls, or slaves. The former are accepted among the people and enjoy the same rights, while the latter are considered as chattel or merchandise and are not Kazaks. These are the Russian, Persian, Kalmuk, and other prisoners.

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FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by [291] chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, [411] robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, 415 harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevêts] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[492 231] A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 182] [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 152 181 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of location does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, 221 132 but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

/214 cont./

000 character for only a small part of the population.

461 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not hire themselves out for work
464 that requires considerable effort in physical labor. Impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/ (dzhetak /or djetak/), however, make up the main contingent of laborers in the metallurgical and agricultural undertakings of the region and are preferred to Russians, being cheaper and stronger workers.

574 The social life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is well developed, but it amounts to feasts, journeys, and entertainment. The various family events and celebrations are always accompanied by a feast for the entire village and even for the nearest villages, endless recounting of news, games among the young people, and songs of the "olengchi."

• 565 The social organization of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ can be
571 called democratic, since the ancient sultan clans (Valikhan,
[614] Ablai /or Ablay/, Bukey, and others) and the hadjis (the descendants of Mohammed) enjoy no special privileges, even though they are considered the secular and spiritual aristocracy. Their
567 influence on the people is considered insignificant. Slavery (a slave is called "kul") existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in earlier times (to the middle of the 19th century), being created by the political life of that time (the frequent internecine wars between tribes and wars with neighboring peoples -- the Bashkir, Kalmyk, etc.). Also, at the end of the 18th century slavery
[175] was legalized by the Russian government. In the fortresses of Yamyshev and Semipalatinsk slave trading existed for a long time from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and the Russians also acquired them as a labor force. The first attempt to limit slavery was made in 1822, with the formation of Kirghiz /Kazak/ okrugs. According to the law of that year all the slaves from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were to remain with their owners, but the acquisition of more was strictly forbidden. The situation of the slaves was hard, as it was for the peasants of Russian landowners. The owners disposed of their life and death, without bearing responsibility for it. A whole group of people, called Tiulengut /Tyulengut/ (usually impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/).

/215 cont./

423 in the use of land exists because of this. Thus, one clan has a thousand dessiatine of land to a yurt, while another has a few score, a great deal if as high as a hundred dessiatine. The intensified colonization of the steppes has accentuated this abnormality. Finally the general path of development of the economic life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ cannot help but promote it, namely, the appearance of agriculture, the transition in some places from a natural (livestock) economy to a monetary one, and in connection with this the disintegration of the patriarchal system. The contemporary nomadic village no longer represents families of equal rights. In each one it is possible to distinguish several well-to-do families on whom all the rest of the population of the village is economically dependent. This sort of situation (and the dzhetak system) is getting stronger every year, and especially in the years of "dzhuta" (hunger).

The former patriarchal relations have been retained (in part) in the customary law in the family.

At the fair in Uil. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

The court among the modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ consists of "biy" (elders in the clan who formerly inherited this duty in the clan from generation to generation). Now the biy is elected by 100-200 yurts (but he can only be a person no younger than 25, who has not been tried and punished). The court of the biy has jurisdiction over all cases concerning alien property and lawsuits in general up to 500 rubles (but not criminal cases). In addition, final judgments can be made on lawsuits involving sums no higher than 30 rubles. In cases above this norm the persons being judged can appeal to an assembly of volost biy (under the /216/ chairmanship of the uyezd chief, and now of the

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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it happened that the Karakalpaks were first assigned to Kazakhstan, thus because by origin and by language they are similar to the Kazakhs; later they were transferred to the Uzbek republic, because the boundary between the Uzbek and Kazakh republics had been re-established along the old line which had separated Tsarist Russia from the home of the Karakalpaks.

The relationship of the Kazakh and Kirgiz peoples offers an even more confusing example of the complex problems which the Soviets have encountered in their attempts to combine into political units various ethnic and economic groups. The Kazakh republic at one time bore the name Kirgiz, and included approximately what is at present the Kazakh and Kirgiz republics. In the 19th century, the pastoral nomads who occupied the steppe between the Caspian Sea and the Tian-Shan Mountains were divided into two groups, the nomads of the low steppe and the nomads of the mountain pastures. Early 19th century explorers called the first group the Kirgiz-Kazakh or the Kirgiz-Kaisak; the mountain nomads were known as the Kara-Kirgiz (Black Kirgiz), or alternatively, the Dikokamenny Kirgiz (Wild-Mountain Kirgiz), or Burut. In that period, persons who today would be called Kazakh, such as the native historian and ethnographer Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov, identified themselves as Kirgiz, ignoring the distinction between Kirgiz-Kazakh and Kara-Kirgiz.

K [10]

Toward the end of the 19th century, experts in matters concerning the Central Asian Turks pointed out that the two social groupings could be distinguished from one another in a number of ways. They differed not only in habitat but also in social organization and social class structure. The Kara-Kirgiz (the modern Kirgiz) had little if any concept of a nobility differentiated from the commoners by purity of descent. Their leaders, called manap, were for the most part local persons who had risen by right of wealth, strong following, and personal qualities to positions of authority in their respective communities. There was little sign of a general organization of these manaps. The Kazakhs on the other hand had a nobility sharply differentiated by right of birth from the commoners, with a strong feeling of interrelationship, mutual support, and hierarchy within the aristocracy. The Kirgiz-Kazakhs, moreover, were divided into three hordes, whereas the Kara-Kirgiz fell outside this structure and had another horde entirely their own.

K [565]

The Soviet regime in its infancy sought to override the difference between the Kazakh-Kirgiz and the Kara-Kirgiz; linguistically there was little to distinguish between them, and the same may be said of dress, mode of living, and religion. The two groups therefore were combined into one republic.[1] The difficulties in administering as one unit peoples accustomed to different systems of social and political authority, however much else they had in common, must have persuaded the Soviet regime to abandon the early aim of forming political divisions of maximum size. Moreover, Soviet plans for the economic exploitation of the Kazakh and the Kirgiz republics were different.

[1] In general, the early Soviet attitude was against particularisms; Transcaucasia, for example, was first established as a republic, then broken up into three republics.

161 may be estimated at approximately 1,400,000, if one adds to the actual loss of 900,000 the expected natural increase of 500,000.

648 A number of arguments have been advanced to account for both the actual and the estimated losses. Each has a certain merit, and no single one of them should be pursued at the expense of all the others.

[167] The Soviet explanation is that people from Kazakhstan moved away to the new industrial enterprises of the southern Urals and southern Siberia and to the neighboring Central Asia republics, the Uzbek, Tadzhik, Turkmen, and Kirgiz SSR's. This interpretation has not been accompanied by any data. The figures quoted here have been the totals of those listed as Kazakhs in the USSR censuses regardless of place of residence. Therefore, the Soviet statement must mean not only that hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs migrated from Kazakhstan to other parts of the USSR, but also that they gave up their Kazakh nationality in doing so.

[177] This may be part of the story but it cannot be the whole. It is known that the Russians looked with favor on the Russification of native populations and their absorption into the Russian ethnic group, regardless of their forebears. German and Austrian prisoners of war who were sent to Kazakhstan report that many Kazakhs, identifiable by their physiognomy, by their personal and family names, and by their own account of 161 their past, were nevertheless designated Russian in their official papers. 648 But certainly 900,000 of them did not become Russian.

[474] During the course of collectivization many Kazakhs were liquidated by the GPU, primarily during the period between the two censuses. [565] Those liquidated were people who resisted collectivization, but they were listed as remnants of the former nobility and wealthy people of Kazakhstan. This class was known as the feudal bays. About 700 bay families per year were liquidated, that is turned over to the GPU, during the three-year period 1928-1930. In 1931 it was announced that 23,000 households of bays were to be liquidated. This made an announced total of 25,000 households subject to GPU measures. If all these people were actually liquidated (that is, left to starve or otherwise badly treated), then some 125,000 Kazakhs were eliminated by these means. This is the largest figure for population losses that can be assigned to police measures on the basis of published data.

[233] [162] It has been stated that between 1930 and 1935, at the height of the drive for collectivization, the number of Kazakh households engaged in the traditional herding occupation dropped from 567,000 to 158,000. Many of these households went into agriculture and some into industry in Kazakhstan, but others moved across the border, either into neighboring republics or out of the Soviet realm into bordering China. During [167] the 1920's and the first part of the 1930's considerable cross-border movement was still permitted into China and back, according to age-old nomadic patterns. The border was closed in the mid-1930's, and possibly some Kazakhs remained outside the USSR by choice; for example, there is a colony of approximately 30,000 Kazakhs in Outer Mongolia. However, to assign numbers to the population loss in Soviet Kazakhstan through this cross-border movement is a hopeless task.

Again, no reliable estimate has been given for the number of Kazakhs who might have gone over to the neighboring republics within the Soviet Union.

each clan had a territory distinctly its own, separated by widely recognized boundaries from the territories of neighboring clans. Lineages within each clan likewise had pasture lands of their own, the land of each lineage separate from the others; villages had separate lands for their own grazing, and known routes over which they moved from pasturage to pasturage in a fixed annual round.[1]

There is thus a correlation between neighborhood and kinship; the closest neighbor of the Kazakh household head was most likely to be his brother, father, father's brother, or father's brother's son. This close relation between the two social bonds is of more than theoretical interest; it has been the basis for an ideological warfare among various Soviet camps in different periods of recent history. Another feature of Kazakh society clarifies this relationship between kinship and neighborhood. The social bond of the Kazakhs, the means whereby two individuals demonstrate their membership in the common society of Kazakhdom, is the genealogical tree. Because of Kazakh nomadism, the relationships among the different branches, whether clans or lineages or villages, are loose, occasional. If two Kazakhs meet and are unknown to each other, they trace their genealogies for each other until a common ancestor is found. This common ancestor then becomes the point of reference for the two, the means whereby they establish whether they are more or less equals, or if not, which is superior. The ancestor in common establishes a basis for mutual aid and cooperation.

The number of generations traced in the genealogies to a common ancestor determines the closeness of the relationship; the fewer the generations, the closer the kinship, and the closer in space are the villages, camps, and pasturages of the Kazakhs. These genealogies are the membership roll, the constitution, the charter of incorporation, and the historical record of the different groups; they are either recited baldly, in answer to questions concerning ancestry, or they are the skeleton around which folk epics are created.[2] These folk epics, which have suffered a peculiar fate under the Soviets, are long recitations or chants concerning the deeds of the ancestors. The Soviet-era epics of Djambul are quite different; Djambul's so-called epics are songs in praise of Stalin.

Kazakh descent lines are not all equal; a father who is the founding ancestor of all the members of a horde or clan or village may have several sons, who are ranked according to their order of birth, the eldest son having the highest rank. The descendants of the sons will then recognize among themselves a relative rank order according to which of the sons they were descended from. The father or founding ancestor of the entire line is himself a member of a still larger group with rank according to order of birth and descent.[3]

The division of Kazakh society into social classes is also related to the ranking of descent lines. The same ties of blood and common

[1] Radloff (105), 1891, pp. LI-LVI.
[2] Samoilovich, in Radenko *et al*, 1930, pp. 306 ff. For a genealogy still preserved today, see Makanov, 1947, pp. 1-28.
[3] Khorezin, 1889, pp. 41-42.

565 descent which unite the Kazakhs as a people also divide them into aristocrat and commoner, noble and subject. There are three identifiable social classes, aristocrats, commoners, and slaves. (The slaves are [567] an important class in traditional Kazakh society, but are not central to the discussion here.) At some point in history, the senior descent line segregated itself from the other lines and achieved aristocratic status. The head of the senior family of the senior descent line is the Khan of all the Kazakhs—so goes the theory of Kazakh kinship and social organization.

C93 C02 [565] These aristocratic descent lines formed the ruling strata of the hordes, the clans, and of all Kazakhdom when they were united. From their ranks came the khans and lesser leaders (sultans, begs, and clan chiefs) by right of first-born descent. Hordes were ruled by descent lines, clans by aristocratic lineages.

The supreme ruler of the Kazakhs, when there was one, bore the title of Khan. Sultans in Central Asia are of lower rank, the equivalent of princes. The Kazakh domain, when split, divided into a number of principalities whose rulers were sultans, even though some of them dared to assign themselves the more grandiose title of khan. A sultan was rarely a sovereign or independent ruler. The begs and clan chiefs were sometimes identical, but the beg was a local leader whose region varied in scope; it might be no larger than a village or a group of villages, or it might be larger than a clan.

613 [622] Kin villages and families likewise had their individual patriarchal leaders. The lineage, however, is a different type of organization. It did not have a chief or center of patriarchal authority unless it was small enough for all its members to live in one large kin village; yet it could be so large as to be identical in size with a clan, in which case it would be ruled by a clan leader. The primary function of the lineage was to serve as a marriage unit, the genealogies once again providing [583] the basis for the practices adopted. Kazakh boys and girls could not marry if they had a common male ancestor in the seventh generation; with kinship in the eighth degree or higher marriage was permitted. The genealogy traced back to the seventh ascending male ancestor is the smallest lineage of the Kazakh. The lineage is a unit of varying scope, depending on the function involved; the lineage for marital purposes comprised seven generations, the genealogy memorized by an individual many times that.[1]

491 [614] [622] Each clan had a distinctive manner of marking the ears of or branding its livestock to differentiate the stock from that of other clans. However, the clan was not the property-owning unit. The clan leader might step in and make a decision regarding a pasturage or head of cattle in dispute between two villages, for the judicial authority rested ultimately in his hands; his decisions might appear biased in his favor, but he could not permanently dispose of pasturage or stock which was not his own, even though it bore the brand or earmark of the clan he led. Similarly, until collectivization, the village authority rested in the [622] [692] hands of a village elder who served as a judge, but rarely could the judge dispose of property which was not his own.[2]

[1]Grodekov, 1889, p. 27; Aliyasovia, 1870, p. 104.

[2][For footnote see cat. 116, f. 41 - ANALYST.]

41 A 46

judge dispose of property which was not his own.[1] The unit of property ownership was the family, and still is.

The clan was a military unit, and supplied companies of armed and mounted men to the armies of the khans and sultans. Each clan company fought under its own leader, and had its own distinctive rallying cry (in Turkic uran, from which "hurrah" is derived) which was usually a repetition of the names of illustrious leaders and warriors of the clan. These companies were used not only in wartime but in any time of trouble; they were called to help during feuds, for example, or in fending off thieves.

The clan supplied the khan with taxes in kind (usually livestock), in money, and in labor service. Taxes in money were not common, since money itself was a rarity on the steppe, and was to be found in the hands of traders and moneymen rather than among clansmen or clan leaders. The taxes paid by the clan to the khan were collected by the clan leader and paid for the group as a whole. Aside from livestock, the clan paid in labor service, reckoned in terms of transport duty and communications (messenger service). And the clan supplied able-bodied men in military companies under its own leaders, as required by the khan. The last century in which this system actually worked as a normal matter was the 18th century. By then the Kazakhs had been definitely divided into three hordes, and the khans ruled over each horde separately. By the 19th century, there were only two types of khans, those who came forward to unite their people against the Russians, such as Kenesary and Taimanov, and those who were maintained by the Russians, such as Khan Bukei of the Inner Horde, and his line.[2]

It is perhaps surprising to find a society in which the members are all theoretically related to each other by ties of blood, yet which is riven by class distinctions and by unequal distributions of ranks and privileges. Yet this is the case among many peoples of Central Asia, such as the Uzbeks and Kazakhs, and of Eastern Asia, such as the Mongols. The basis of social differentiation is the ranking of descent lines according to the order of birth of the founders. Once this differentiation is established, and the society is divided into aristocrats (by virtue of primogeniture) and commoners, more complex divisions follow. A leader or khan is then set up as the first among the aristocrats, and he forms a court of aides, ministers, viceroys, field commanders, priests, and so forth. The khan may ennoble a commoner as a reward for bravery in the field, or because he is literate and hence of exceptional utility to the state.

Theoretically, then, all Kazakhs are related to each other by ties of blood. This does not mean that they are all actually descendants of one founding ancestor, for such a figure lies so far in the past that it is necessarily mythical; the truth or falsity of the tradition can no longer be shown. In addition to the myth, however, the establishment of kinship is also achieved by another kind of fiction. Kinship may be based on adoption, whereby a son is regarded as though he were the

[1]Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 150 ff.; Radloff (104), 1893, pp. 513-514; Ibragimov, 1878, pp. 234-237.
[2]Ivanin, 1864, pp. 2-6; Abdykalykov and Pankratova, 1943, pp. 140-241.

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[1]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[2] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor.

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position.

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[3]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not

[1] Izvestnov, 1897, pp. 5, 11.
[2] Radloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[3] Karutz (73), 1910, p. 42.

171 one should remember that the paternal authority of the Chinese, the Japanese, or the Romans is a model for the imperial authority only by analogy, as a manner of speaking. The Confucian admonition to regard the emperor as a father is not taken literally. The Chinese imperial authority pattern is derived from other sources than the paternal role; [608] so is the Kazakh. But Kazakh society as a whole is more steeped in the kinship relation, and hence authority in general is modeled on the paternal to a greater degree than in the other patrilineal societies mentioned.

649 538 Age is the underlying basis of authority in the Kazakh social system, since the old men are the fathers. Paradoxically, traditional Kazakh literature, both oral and written, deals mostly with young heroes. These youths are praised for their daring, strength, cleverness; they defy enemies both human and supernatural. But the hero is typically a [408] younger prince who gains a kingdom in defiance of the law of primogeniture by subduing or outwitting his older brother; the young prince never defies the older generation. The father and elders generally support the elder brother, but they do not actively suppress the younger. In contrast, Kazakh literature of the Soviet era depicts youth defying or combatting his elders.

KAZAKH SOCIETY AND THE PARTY LINE

171 565 Throughout the history of western society, the social classes have been distinguished by differences in birth; the nobility carefully separated themselves from the taint of common blood in medieval Europe, in Renaissance societies, and in modern times. The Kazakh society—and the Mongol or Uzbek for that matter—is anomalous because it maintains class distinctions of aristocrat and commoner while affirming [619] a general relatedness through descent from a single ancestor. There are even fictional genealogies which unite all steppe nomads.

554 These relatively simple anomalies have caused a dilemma in Soviet publications on the nature of Kazakh society. There is social differentiation not only by birth and descent, but also by wealth. In Kazakh society, [177] the two bases of social inequality were more or less coordinate until the victory of Sovietization. The clan leader was superior to his fellow [620] clansmen by right of birth; the village leader was superior to his fellow villagers by right of birth; both were also richer than the other clansmen or villagers. By right of precedence they allocated the best pasture lands to themselves and decided all judicial questions in their own favor. Both wealth and social influence were based on the number of kinsmen [602] who would support a man at a council, or before the law, or in a fight, a feud, or a war. A man of eminent birth and of wealth could get more kinsmen to support him than could a Kazakh with neither. This might seem anomalous, since theoretically a Kazakh is related to all other Kazakhs, and kinsmen help each other. But kinsmen help closer kinsmen before they help distant kin; and kinsmen help superior, influential kinsmen before they help inferior kinsmen who are lacking in influence.

[1] Ariatov, 1894, pp. 396-398.

it out. The attempts by the Soviet regime to cause the Kazakhs to conform to their plan are trial and error procedures which sometimes succeed, sometimes fail. They work where the Kazakhs accept, they fail where the Kazakhs are able to reject Soviet culture. Where the Kazakhs accept, it is because they already possessed cultural institutions similar to those which the Soviet regime wished them to have. The ease with which the Kazakh family and village organization moved over into the collective farm structure illustrates this. Both the traditional Kazakh and the Soviet village and rural family are based on close internal cooperation; the core population of both the prerevolutionary and the modern village are kinsmen.

Alternatively, the Kazakhs accept Soviet culture where their native institutions have been crushed and the Soviet institution simply imposed from above. An instance of this is the class structure and the government structure related to it. The Kazakh ruling class, the hereditary nobility, was driven out, and the corresponding form of local government collapsed. It was replaced by the present regime of Soviet functionaries and the Soviet state structure within which they take their places. It seems generally true that the small-scale institutions of the steppe peoples such as family and kinship are stabler, more constant than the larger ones, such as state and empire.[1]

The Soviet culture has been rejected by the Kazakhs where no native customs or institutions existed upon which the new pattern could be imposed. Thus the Soviet concept of a fraternity of nationalities combined to form the USSR has no place in Kazakh life. The Kazakhs have had no especially friendly relations with the Russians; on the contrary, in the 19th century they hated the Russians as colonialists and frequently rose in revolt against them. At present, relations have not improved; the Kazakhs have no reason—political, economic, or cultural—to accept the Russian regime more closely now than they did in the past. If one finds no evidence today of revolts in Central Asia, it is because Soviet control over the Kazakhs is far more efficient than that of the Tsars. And if there were revolts or other expressions of mass unrest, resentment, feelings of injustice, and the like, word of them would not reach the western world until the Soviet press chose to mention them.

The theory of controlled acculturation remains a theory, the western formulation of Soviet policy. It is in contrast with the western approach, which does not conceive of culture in terms of a controlling plan. Kazakh culture has been disrupted through incorporation into the Soviet Union; there are gaps in the fabric of their society resulting from the rapid acculturation. The traditional has not been entirely replaced by the new. Two reasons may be adduced for this: resistance by the Kazakhs, and faulty or inadequate planning by the Soviets. The deficiencies in the planning have tended to increase the degree of the resistance.

[1] Krader (77), 1983.

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> Mussulman propaganda in one form or another went into the Kirghiz Steppes from the side of Russia is the circumstance that espscially those Kirghiz who live along our lines have become Mussulman, while the old genuine Shamanism is kept up, even at the present time, among those Kirghiz particularly who wander in the neighborhood of Khiva, Bukhara, and what was formerly Khokand, that is, in really Mussulman country."

Grigoriev ascribed tqo much importance to the weight of Russian intermediation on behalf of Islam, and thus continued the same sort of error he was describing; the Russian authorities greatly overestimated the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, while Grigoriev overestimated the role of the Russians in bringing it to them. Study of the problem of acculturation has made anthropologists today less naive concerning a people's capacity to accept or reject a given element from another culture. However, Grigoriev is correct in recording the error involved in official Russian recognition of Islam as the religion of the Kazakhs. This error is part of a still larger one, that of failing to understand the [171] cultural diversity in Central Asia, a matter which is implied by the error in language mentioned by Grigoriev. The Kazakhs have a different language from the Tartars of European Russia, as well as a different religion, economy, and social organization.

Grigoriev, on the other hand, calls attention to an important distinction regarding the religion of the Kazakhs, or as he calls them, the Kirghiz: Only the ruling strata of Kazakh society had any degree of con- [565] tact with Islam in the 18th century, when the Russian conquest began. This fact is independently corroborated by A. Bennigsen, who has conducted research among the Kazakh displaced persons of World War II, now living in Paris. Bennigsen writes, "It is only among certain D.P.'s who are descendants of the families of 'feudal bais' that we have observed the survival of the Moslem faith."[1] Only in families of this social class has there been any sort of Moslem tradition or learning.

The Russian empire in the 18th and 19th centuries sought to use the religion of Islam as a bridge into the society and political life of the Kazakhs. A similar tactic has been used repeatedly by the Soviet regime. The results have been negligible. In the words of a modern-day Kazakh [538] poet and novelist, Sabit Mukanov:

> "For many historical reasons, the Kazakh masses took relatively poorly to the religious traditions [of Islam], and the Kazakh woman was not subjected to the yoke of the laws of the Shariat to the same degree that, for instance, the Uzbek women were. The Kazakh women were never veiled; they took part in festivals together with men."[2]

In addition to Mukanov's statement that the Kazakh woman was not put into the harem or otherwise sealed off from the world, as the Moslem [562] woman is supposed to be, other reports indicate that the nomadic woman is notably freer than the woman of the settled villages and cities of Central Asia. This is an important index to the degree of influence which Islam practices have had on the life of the Kazakhs.

[1] Personal communication.
[2] Mukanov, 1949, p. 5.

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Chapter 5

ECONOMY

TRADITIONAL PATTERN OF KAZAKH ECONOMY

233 The traditional economy of the Kazakhs is herding, the raising of cattle, horses, camels, and, numerically the most important, sheep and goats. Settled life is despised, farming is despised. Herding is a nomadic way of life, but this does not mean indiscriminate wandering over the face of the earth. In the past, when all Kazakhs were nomads, [221] each herding community had its fixed pattern of grazing, starting in the spring from the winter quarters, traveling to pastures where they spent the summer, then returning over the same path to the winter [621] quarters again. Each community had its own territory for grazing and camping, and would fight off any intruder. Communities camped in closer proximity to each other—making for greater density of population—where there was more water and grass for the herds.[1]

233 The most favorable area for herding, with regard to the availability 199 of plant cover and water, is in the northern part of the Kazakh steppe. Unfortunately, this part of the steppe is precisely the zone which is able to support a small amount of agriculture, and it was here that the Russians and Ukrainians settled in the 19th century. As a result the Kazakhs, in a period when their population was increasing, were thrust back on a more limited territory, away from the grassy steppe, away from the river and lake shores favored by the Slavs for agriculture, away from the water courses in northeastern Kazakhstan where mining, as well as agriculture, had been instituted. The steppe which remained to them was of poorer quality, for herding or for any other subsistence economy.

178 Faced with the problem of sustaining a herding economy with more 241 of their number on less and poorer land, the Kazakhs began to take up ●565 agriculture. The first to go over to the new way were the poor, the marginal herders. The rich, of course, continued their pastoralism, hiring the poor to work for them. Out of this emerged a new pattern of mixed herding and farming. During the latter part of the 19th century, crops were planted at the winter quarters, and tended by the poor Kazakhs and by women, while the wealthier able-bodied men went off with the herds in the more honored occupation.

[1] For a detailed description of the Kazakh nomadic pattern, see Rudenko in Baranov, 1927.

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[Great Horde]

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642 The structures larger than the clan must be set aside as of a different order than the smaller units.

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178 The clan, too, can only be touched on briefly, because it faces two ways from a structural point of view. It is of moment to analyze it, albeit summarily, because it throws light on certain general features of consanguinity and affinity in the steppe society. But it was at the same time a social unit of a different order than the lineage, the village, or the family. By the 19th century, especially the latter part, it was moribund; it was rooted in the past, and was in a real sense the anvil upon which the structure of the state [565] was hammered. It was in fact a state in minuscule, with [567] a ruling stratum, the nobles, and subordinate strata, [795] the commoners and slaves. There was a religious cleavage in slave-making; within Islam, the Kazakhs were Sunnite in belief; they took slaves among the Shiite Moslems, Lamaist Kalmuks, and Christians.[69]

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182 Certain structural principles which the clan shares with other Kazakh descent groups have been discussed above; among them are its corporate character, the

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[69] Levchine, 330. While their religion was dominantly Islamic, specifically Sunnite, there were also important elements of Manichaeism and of shamanism among them. The latter doctrinary forces, however, corresponded to no pattern in their loyalties or enslavements. In general, Islam was a late and superficial feature of Kazakh religion and culture.

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182 principle of patrilineal descent, and the mode of inheritance which operates differentially, with certain rights of primogeniture, certain rights of ultimogeniture, and certain rights of equal inheritance. Other principles concern the clan alone, among them the genealogical charter which among other things was an expression of the myth of clan origin and also served to validate the membership of an individual in the clan. However, the lineage and the extended family participate in this principle of clan organization through the very architecture of the clan--its pyramidal form, to apply the imagery of Fortes and Evans-Pritchard. The clan was composed of differentially ranked lineages, and the lineages in turn of villages and of families, the highest rank being that of the line through the eldest sons.

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●505 The clan was divided into noble and common strata, which marks it off from the lineage, and other lesser units. These strata have been aptly characterized as estates by Kharuzin[70] and distinguished by the Kazakhs, as by all steppe peoples as different colored patrilineal descent lines called sŭ̈k (literally, bone). These "bones" were the white or noble estate, and the black or common, and the principle whereby they were distinguished was identical with that of the Khalkha,

[70] Kharuzin, op. cit., col. 47.

[Great Horde]

619 the Kalmuk, and other nomadic peoples of the Asiatic
565 steppe.

The Great Horde preserved this division by estates within the clan for several decades after the Russian. The Khan (i.e., the ruler of a clan confederation) and his kinsmen, according to Radlov, occupied a special position, forming a nobility. The nobles were called ak sŏk, the white bone, and the commoners kara sŏk, the black bone.[71] Grodekov, writing of the Kazakhs of the Great Horde during the same period, adds further details: the Kazakh nobles or white "bone" did not belong to one horde, nor to any one clan; they were not divided by lineages; they were essentially the descendants of Khans who ruled in the steppe: they formed a clan or series of clans by themselves; the nobility were those whose maternal line as well as paternal line were of the white "bone."[72] The estates were endogamous until the Russian conquest.

565 If this were the entire picture, there would be no problem; however, a certain difficulty has been touched on by Dingelstedt, a young aide on General Grodekov's staff in Turkestan. On social distinctions Dingelstedt writes, the Kazakhs have no classes; they all recognize each other as noble in origin. Their aristocratic price is great, because each must know the names of his ancestors;

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[71] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 515.

[72] Grodekov, 4-5.

565 but they admit of certain distinctions: the right of priority, the right to this or that cut of meat served at feasts. To this end there are the two great divisions of the people, the white and black "bones." The white bones are the descendants of Chingis Khan and of certain other great Khans, and also of the disciples of Mohammed, who bear the name of Saïd or Khodji.[73] So far Dingelstedt. Now, the white bones are not actually incorporated members of a given clan, and are in this respect different from the Khalkha Mongols, whose white bone are of two sorts, those who are members of their clan as nobility and leaders, and those who are of princely rank, above the ordinary aristocracy, and trace descent in the direct line from Chingis Khan. The Kazakh nobles are similar only to the latter class of Khalkha nobles.

611 619 565 But even removing the white "bone" into a descent line of their own[1] does not solve the problem of reconciling two apparently contradictory principles of social structure: one, the common line of descent of all Kazakhs from one ancestor (Dingelstedt's "noble origin"); and two, the division into bones. Specifically, at what point did the unifying principle become divided? To resolve this problem, reference can only be made to the composite nature of Kazakh society and Turko-Mongol society generally, namely, to the principle of consanguinity

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[73] Dingelstedt, 146.

1 [Cf. Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 400-403 -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

611 through the paternal line which unites each of these
619 societies, and to the existence of a kind of state which
565 is composed of ruling and ruled strata. And finally, it has been already suggested that the clan itself functions in part as a clan, and in part exemplifies certain quasi-state features. Insofar as the clan performs functions according to principles of the kinship system, it is relevant to our consideration; but the complications of a state-like character remove it to that extent from our consideration.[74]

619 The Kazakh clan, in the Great Horde as elsewhere, had other bonds than the genealogical tie, and other functions than the politico-military. Where a line died out without issue, the property passed to the clan.[75] Presumably the property was administered by the clan elders. The clan had a system of identifiable signs, such as earmarks in common, whereby the members distinguished their livestock from those of other clans. These earmarks, called tamga, were not a sign of clan property, but a sign of the clan affiliation by the owners of the stock.[76]

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[74] Izraztsov, 26. He writes that the clan was a political unit, a unit of military defense, which declined after Russian pacification. Smaller units remained after the clan declined, held together by common interests. In addition to external causes, the clan system had been weakened by intestine wars.

[75] Izraztsov, 27.

[76] Kharuzin, Bukeev Orda, col. 148. Cf. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 455-456; and Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 412-416, for reproductions of the clan earmarks for the Great Horde, and for the Kazakhs generally.

632 because of the rule of lineage exogamy. The members of
611 an aul generally were related because one's most trusted
602 friend was one's closest kinsman, upon whom one could
692 place the greatest reliance for mutual aid measured in wealth or arms. And the bii himself embodied the agnatic principle because he was in the ideal circumstance the senior male in the ranking family of a Kazakh community.

177.6 One effect of culture contact at the end of the 19th
601 century, we have seen, was the organization of the Kazakhs into Russian administrative units; and despite this new mode of social organization, certain structural principles continued to exert their force: namely, the inhabitants of a given district recognized either a real or assumed kinship with others of the district. The acculturative process may be further examined to see which structural features survived as the least common denominator of
177. Kazakh life, and which were stripped away. The division
56 of the Kazakhs into estates by seniority of descent lines
●565 through primogeniture and differential succession has been discussed. These estates, the white bone or aristocracy, and the black bone or commoners, did not intermarry until after the Russian conquest, when the young people of the succeeding generation, that is, from the late 1880's and on, began to ally themselves in marriage, regardless of white or black estate, without difficulty.[94]

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[94] Dingelstedt, 146.

[Great Horde]

177. 56 565 The reason is clear: the ak sŏk or white "bone" had been the political rulers in the steppe in view of their descent from Khans and illustrious exponents of Islam. While they had remained the political rulers of the Kazakhs it was important to maintain the quality of their estate by recourse to a rule of endogamy, thus preserving their [556] superiority over the black "bone." When the political meaning of the separateness disappeared,[1] the practice of endogamy between the estates disappeared; and correlated with this change was the greater emphasis on wealth for social distinction: we have seen how the oli was often chosen at this time because of his wealth rather than by birth.[2]

The ak sŏk no longer had any legal privileges; their principal mark of social distinction was in terms of respect, a special place at feasts and ceremonies, and so forth.[95] Thus the estate in the past was a political structure embodying principles of the consanguineal system of the Kazakhs. It disappeared, but the kinship system upon which it was based remained in an altered form.

621 The nomadic village was until Russian times a patrilineal kin group, a portion of a lineage. It conformed to the theory of the corporate structure advanced here

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[95] Idem.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 414 -- Analyst]

[2] [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

619 Khan Bukei[1] was of the highest nobility in the Little
565 Horde: Chingis Khan figured in his genealogy; and his more immediate ancestor some three or four generations back had been Abul-Hafr, the last great Khan whose fame was recognized by all the hordes of the Kazakhs. However, Bukei was not in the direct senior line from Abul-Hafr, and hence was not among the chief rulers of the Little Horde.

161 He and his followers, who were changed in status from a clan some 1500 families strong, to a horde with its independent Khan, increased naturally, through Russian support and the attraction of in-migrants to some 5000 families in five years, lost some groups through defections in the 1820's,[227] but increased steadily until by 1845 they had come to number 30,000 families,[228] which was the same number they had forty years later, 619 in the 1880's. The demographic history of the Inner 167 Horde reveals much of the instability of all social formations, clans, lineages, hordes, villages, and even extended families. Migration--as opposed to nomadization--brought about ever new conjunctions and combinations. Clans, villages, etc., had to survive not only the mortal span of their individual members, but the shifting of loyalties and membership affiliations as well.

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[227] Levchine, 300.

[228] Ivanin, 6.

[1] [i.e. the leader of the Inner Horde in the early 19th century. Cf. Cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, p. 491.--Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

601 Khan Bukei was related to all the other members
625 of his clan and horde through real or assumed descent
619 from a common ancestor. But Bukei was at the same time
162 a descendant of Chingis Khan directly, and a descendant of a junior line of Abul-Hair. His horde because of its recent formation, small size, and relative instability, retained many features of clan structure which it had until recently possessed. It was divided into two estates: the white bone and the black. As to the white bone, ak sŭŏk, we have somewhat more detailed data as to its composition than for the other hordes. It had three components in the Inner Horde, according to data gathered in 1849-1850, in addition to the direct senior descendants of the Khan himself; these were descendants of Khan Bukei in the junior line, clan leaders, and aristocrats without duties, all of whom totalled to about 200 ak sŭŏk, 85 percent falling in the last category, those without duties, i.e., junior aristocratic lines,[229] exclusive of Khan Bukei's cadet line, who formed a separate noble category.

613 Among the lineage names of this time, familiar
162 ones appear, such as the lineage of Adai, homonymous with the one visited by Karuts on the Mangyshlak peninsula about fifty years later. These lineages ranged in number of families from 120 to 5000; and counting the

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[229] Ibid., 11.

[i.e. in 1800; cf. Cat. ms, AHI Mongolia, p. 491 -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

614 where part of the gifts were made over to the chief of
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601 the Alim-uli. The reasons given by Kharuzin for clan
[177.61] decline generally, 1A as part of the acculturation picture,
are: administrative changes imposed by the Russians, the
growth of sedentary agriculture, and the consequent loss
of nomadic pastoralism.[240]

613 The lineage was the exogamic unit in the 1880's,
561 and leadership of the lineage passed to the eldest son.
However, it might rest temporarily with the first or
senior wife until the eldest son came of age; here again
seniority was operative, among the wives as well as among
the sons.[241] There is regrettably no indication of the
number of generations in establishing an exogamic unit
among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde.

565 The standard composition of the noble estate is:
the ak sŭyk descended from Chingis Khan, and the Islamic
leaders among the Kazakhs, called Khodja. They were
[177. formerly free from tax and tribute, but with the advent
56] of the Russians were so no longer. However, they were
not subject to the judgments of the biis, and hence had
a kind of legal immunity. The other component of the
white bone was the Khodja, i.e., Kazakhs who, by a gene-
alogical fiction, traced their descent from Mohammed.[242]

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[240] Kharuzin, op. cit., cols. 45-47.

[241] Ibid., 110.

[242] Ibid., 47-52.

1A [Cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, p. 496 ff.--Ed.]

625 These descent lines formed the aristocracy, while the commoners were the estate of the kara sŏk. The distinction maintained by the end of the 19th century was no longer that of purity of descent in a particular line, but rather by wealth, between rich and poor Kazakhs.[243]

621 Aul and Family; Aul-Family in the Inner Horde

596 The lineage was composed of a number of auls whose members were agnatically related to each other more closely than to other members of the lineage. Where possible, a single extended family might form an entire aul of five to ten tents. Such an aul would be composed of a father, his married sons, their children, sometimes close collateral kin of the father, and if possible, four generations of patrilineal descent. This, however, was more often the case in the past than it was at the end of the 19th century, when sons had a greater tendency to break away on marriage--i.e., on being apportioned by the father. Authority in the aul passed to the eldest son on the death of the father. Authority was patriarchal except when, on the death of the father while the sons were still minor, the senior widow held the authority in trust, together with the entire estate, until the sons came of age.[244]

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[243] Ibid., 47, 52.

[244] Ibid., 110.

Collective Kin Terms

601 A collective term for siblings (Middle Horde) is tuskan, literally, brother and sister; children are bala. The body of kin in whom an agnatic relationship is recognized is called tuyskat. For descendants, a number of distinctions are made. Any individual descendant is referred to as tukym; a close descendant is dsuragat; a collective for descendants is the binome urym butak.

61
525 Among the Kazakhs generally, the term for a line of common descent through the father is sŭök, literally bone. Inasmuch as these descent lines were collaterally ranked, they served as the basis for the formation of the estates, noble and commoner. The principle upon which the descent lines were ranked was the birth order of the founders, and the senior line in rank achieved a different status, forming the aristocratic stratum, an aspect of the broader principle of differential inheritance and succession. The two estates, white bone and black bone, were distributed among all the hordes, and in all the clans of the hordes. The differentiation by estates is a horizontal cleavage in Kazakh society not to be found in Kara-Kirgiz society for example, but shared by the Kazakh with the Kalmuk society. In the Middle Horde, the clans were called ruu, and were divided into byr top, the component lineages; the principle of clan and lineage formation existed generally among the Kazakh hordes. In contrast to the horizontal cleavage

61 of the estates, the clan and lineage formation is a ver-
545 tical cleavage. A sŏk might be identical with a byr
top in any given instance, but the principle upon which
it was based was different. The horizontal cleavage was
derived from the superposition of one layer of society
upon another, and was a means of building the social hier-
archy. The vertical cleavage could fit the system of a
social hierarchy or a polysegmentary system without a
supra-clan hierarchy equally well; an example of the
latter alternative, a polysegmentary clan-lineage forma-
tion without aristocratic and commoner estates is found
in the Kara-Kirgis social structure.

Appendix: Kazakh of the Altai

101 Two expeditions to the Niaman division of the Kazakhs
127 of the Middle Horde were undertaken by a number of Turkic
177 specialists in the 1920's. The localities they concen-
trated on were in the extreme northeast corner of Kazakh-
stan, hence difficult of access, in rugged country and
were presumably chosen by the ethnographers Bukeikhan,
Baronov, Margulanov, and Rudenko, and the linguist Samoilo-
vich because here the degree of acculturation (such was
not their term) would be lowest of any part of the Kazakh
world. The account of the Altai Kazakhs has been separ-
ated from the rest of the data on the Kazakhs and put
into this appendix. A word is needed in answer to (1)
why the following data are incorporated at all, and

[Altai Kazakhs]

613 tion of the structural outlines, a loss of fluidity
177.4 which can best be shown by examining units smaller than
565 the lineage, such as the village and family.

614 The chaotic situation in which the larger descent
422 groups found themselves in by the 1920's--aside from the rigidification of the structural principles--may be seen in the loss of the clan war-cry and cattle-brand. The war-cry or uran now appertained not to the clan, but to the entity which has been identified as the major lineage or byr top. The cattle markings, which were literally ear-marks, tamga, cut into the cattle's ear, were distributed by component sub-lineages or sŏök,[265] of the byr top.

613 Acculturative influences, both economic and po-
177.61 litical in manifestation, have acted to deprive the
601 Kazakh clan and lineage of many functions. Adminis-
[631] tratively, the Kazakhs were now settled, in a hierarchy of Russian units, the uezd, the okrug, the volost'. These have remained to this day, with the exception of the volost'. Residence and the distribution of camps, pasturages, etc., have come to be reckoned by administrative units, such as the uezd among these Kazakhs, and one of the incidental effects of acculturation has been the sharpening of the dzien relation.[1] This has taken the following form: In the Altai district (okrug),

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[265] Samoilovich, 310-311.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 509ff. --Analyst]

Kazak RQ2

Ki 177 the valley of the Tekes and to throw these lands open for Russian colonisation. An autonomous "territory of the Ḳarā Ḳirghïz" or Ḳïrghïzistān has now been constituted with Pishpek as capital (the term "Ḳarā" was never adopted by the people themselves and is now definitely repudiated).

Kz 101 Until recently in both Russia and Western Europe the name "Kirgiz" meant particularly the Ḳazāḳ; they are sometimes called also "Kirgiz-Kaisak" (Kaisak, corrupted from Kazak, to distinguish them from the Russian Cossacks). On the

Kä 175 separation of the Ḳazāḳ from the Özbeg, cf. the articles ABU 'L-KHAIR and ḲAZĀḲ. The whole of the Ḳazāḳ people was for long under the rule of one Khān who therefore had a considerable military force at his disposal; Khān Ḳāsim (d. 924 = 1518) was particularly powerful. In spite of several defeats from the Mongols allied with the Özbegs in the xvi^th century, the Ḳazāḳ still had a strong nomad kingdom at the end of this century under the rule of Khān Tawakkul, who, during the last years of the reign of Khān 'Abd Allāh b. Iskandar [q. v.], was able to make a successful incursion into Mā warā al-Nahr and even later still held the town of Tāshkent. In the xvii^th century the power of the Khāns only rarely extended over the whole people; but about this time Tāshkent and Farghāna were usually in the possession of the Ḳazāḳ, sometimes under nominal recognition of

Ka [631] the suzerainty of the Khāns of the Özbegs. At this time must have taken place the division of the Ḳazāḳ into three "Hordes" (called by the Ḳazāḳ themselves *djüz* "hundred"); the great horde (*ulu djüz*) occupied the most easterly, the little (*kishi djüz*) the most westerly part of the so-called "Kirgiz steppes" and between the two the central horde (*orta djüz*). Towards the end of the xvii^th century this division was already an accomplished fact. Khān Tyawka, celebrated as the law-giver of his people (in 1694 a Russian embassy was received by him in the town of Turkistān and in 1698 one from the Kalmucks), still ruled all three Hordes and had a representative in each of them. In 1717 unsuccessful negotiations for the submission of all three Hordes to Peter the Great were conducted; in 1723 the towns of Sairām, Tāshkent and Turkistān were conquered by the Kalmucks. For a short period after this the suzerainty of the Khān of the Little Horde was recognised by all the Ḳazāḳ and the agreement

Kz [648] doing this was sealed by the sacrifice of a white horse but the treaty had no practical results. In 1730, Abu 'l-Khair negotiated with Russia and concluded a treaty by which he declared himself and his people Russian subjects. This treaty was renewed several times in the xviii^th century; but it was not till the xix^th century, especially after 1847, when the Russians were firmly established on the southern frontier of the Kirgiz steppes on the Sïr Daryā, that Russian rule became definitely established over the steppes and their inhabitants.

Ka 177 [565] The eastern part of the steppes was administered from Siberia and the western from Orenburg; regulations for the government of the Siberian Ḳazāḳ were published in 1822 and again in 1868. Even after the abolition of the Khān's authority, the descendants of Čingiz Khān or "Sulṭāns" exercised a considerable influence over the people as a nobility (among the Ḳazāḳ called "white bones", *aḳ süyek*); their authority has been gradually destroyed by the measures of the Russian Government. The last

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